

Message Text

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FM AMCONSUL KARACHI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7892
INFO AMEMBASSY DACCA
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY KABUL
AMCONSUL LAHORE
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMCONSUL PESHAWAR
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 KARACHI 0483

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PK

SUBJ: BALUCHISTAN SITUATION: CURRENT POLITICAL/
ADMINISTRATIVE FORMULA

FROM CONSUL GENERAL

SUMMARY: IN VISIT TO BALUCHISTAN 23-27 FEBRUARY, I GAINED
IMPRESSION BHUTTO REGIME FOLLOWING FAIRLY CLEAR FORMULA
FOR GRADUAL REDUCTION POLITICAL/SECURITY TENSIONS THIS DIS-
TURBED PROVINCE. FORMULA APPEARS TO BE COMBINATION OF
FOLLOWING ELEMENTS: ESTABLISHMENT OSTENSIBLE PPP PRESENCE
THROUGH CAREFUL MANIPULATION OF BY-ELECTIONS; ADMINISTRATIVE
REARRANGEMENTS DESIGNED TO AFFORD BETTER CONTROL OF
DISTURBED AREAS AND FOCUS MORE ATTENTION ON ECONOMIC
DEVELOPMENT; AND PUBLIC ATTACKS ON "SARDARI SYSTEM" DESIGNED
TO CUT DOWN BHUTTO'S ENEMIES, BOTH OLD (NAP LEADERS) AND NEW
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(EX-GOVERNOR BUGTI). I WAS PRESSED MORE THIS TIME THAN ON
ANY PREVIOUS VISIT FOR U.S. INTERVENTION OF VARIOUS KINDS,

INCLUDING PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION'S CONCERN FOR PROJECT ASSISTANCE. OVERALL IMPRESSION WAS OF MANAGEABLE, IF HARDLY SATISFACTORY, SITUATION WITH POSSIBILITY BHUTTO'S CURRENT FORMULA CAN OVER TIME REDUCE LEVEL OF TENSION AS COMPARED TO 1973. END SUMMARY

1. PARTY CONSISTING OF MYSELF AND WIFE AND PAO PINCH AND WIFE ENTERED BALUCHISTAN FROM SIND (JACOBABAD) LATE AFTERNOON 23 FEBRUARY AND, AFTER SPENDING NIGHT AT VILLAGE OF RECENTLY ELECTED PPP MNA TAJ MOHAMAD JAMALI, MOTORED TO QUETTA WITH BRIEF STOPS AT SIBI AND DADHAR, HEADQUARTERS, RESPECTIVELY, OF SIBI AND KACCHI DISTRICTS. PINCHES RETURNED TO KARACHI FROM SIBI, BUT TIGERS CONTINUED ON TO QUETTA AND REMAINED THROUGH MID-AFTERNOON 27 FEBRUARY.

2. IT WAS INTERESTING TIME TO BE IN BALUCHISTAN: THERE HAD BEEN TIME FOR THINGS TO SETTLE DOWN AFTER JANUARY 1-3 CHANGE-OVER OF GOVERNORS FROM AKBAR BUGTI TO AHMED YAR KHAN (KHAN OF KALAT); SOME INTERESTING REARRANGEMENTS HAD SUBSEQUENTLY BEEN MADE BOTH IN THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT SETUP AND IN THE PROVINCIAL SECRETARIAT; ON 18 FEBRUARY, FIRST CANDIDATE EVER TO RUN WITH OVERT PPP ENDORSEMENT, WON BY-ELECTION AS MNA; AND PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO HAD EVERYBODY SITTING ON EDGE OF THEIR SEATS (A TRICK AT WHICH HE IS PAST MASTER) BY PROMISING SIGNIFICANT ANNOUNCEMENT ON BALUCHISTAN FOR 15 FEBRUARY AND THEN REPEATEDLY POSTPONING IT (FIRST TO 25 FEBRUARY THEN TO 27 FEBRUARY AND THEN TO AN INDEFINITE DATE). ALTHOUGH A GREAT MANY OF THE PRINCIPAL ACTORS WERE OUT OF BALUCHISTAN DURING MY VISIT (GOVERNOR, CHIEF MINISTER, SEVERAL CABINET MINISTERS AND KEY SECRETARIAT PERSONNEL) I WAS STILL ABLE TO SEE FIGURES FROM ALL SIDES OF THE COMPLICATED BALUCHISTAN EQUATION, INCLUDING EX-GOVERNOR BUGTI, PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY SPEAKER BAROZAI (NAP), THE JAMALI FAMILY (NEW PPP SUPPORTERS); INDEPENDENT LADY MPA FAZILA ALIANI; KNOWLEDGEABLE AND ASTUTE IRANIAN CONSUL GENERAL MOSHIRI; AND A NUMBER OF SECRETARIAT FIGURES INCLUDING BOTH HOLDOVERS AND NEW RECRUITS.

3. EXPECTATIONS RE BHUTTO'S LONG-AWAITED ANNOUNCEMENT VARIED WIDELY, REFLECTING HOPES AND/OR FEARS OF VARIOUS PARTIES.

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NAP, FOR INSTANCE, BRAVELY FORECAST RELEASE OF NAP DETAINEES, BOTH LEADERS AND RANK AND FILE, ANNOUNCEMENT COALITION GOVERNMENT WITH NAP CHIEF MINISTER, WITHDRAWAL MILITARY TO BARRACKS IN DISTURBED AREAS, ETC. BUGTI, WITH HIS PENCHANT FOR THE APOCALYPTIC, FORECAST PUBLIC SHOW TRIALS OF THREE DETAINED NAP LEADERS AND DECLARATION OF STRAIGHT PPP PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT, ADDING THIS WOULD "ALL END IN A BIG BANG". IN MIDDLE WAS VIEW (TO WHICH I SUBSCRIBE) THAT PRIME MINISTER WOULD LIMIT HIMSELF TO ANNOUNCEMENT OF "END OF SARDARI SYSTEM" (ESSENTIALLY EUPHEMISM FOR UNDERCUTTING TRADITIONAL TRIBAL

SUPPORT OF NAP LEADERS AND BUGTI) AND POSSIBLY SOME FURTHER RESHUFFLING OF PROVINCIAL CABINET WITHOUT ANY CHANGE IN POLITICAL COLORATION. IT SEEMED TO ME MOST UNLIKELY THAT BHUTTO, IN ABSENCE ANY REAL THREAT TO SECURITY AND STABILITY IN BALUCHISTAN AT THIS TIME, AND BASKING IN THE GLOW OF "TRIUMPHS" AT LAHORE LAST WEEK, WOULD BE IN MOOD TO MAKE ANY CONCESSIONS TO NAP.

4. THERE WAS MUCH TALK AS TO WHETHER 18 JANUARY VICTORY OVERT PPP CANDIDATE FOR MNA JAMALI (KARACHI 0386 NOTAL) WAS A "TURNING POINT" IN PPP FORTUNES IN BALUCHISTAN. ON BALANCE, IT APPEARED THAT IT WAS INDEED AN INDICATOR OF GOP STRATEGY, WHICH WILL PROBABLY BE TO PERSUADE TRACTABLE, IF NOT EAGER, LOCAL FIGURES TO RUN ON PPP TICKETS IN THREE UPCOMING PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY BY-ELECTIONS (ONE IN CHAGAI AND TWO IN MAKHRAN LATER THIS MONTH) TO REPLACE SENTENCED OR ABSCONDED NAP MEMBERS. BUT IT WOULD GO TOO FAR TO SAY JAMALI VICTORY IN ITSELF INDICATED BEGINNINGS OF GRASSROOTS PPP ORGANIZATION AMONG BALUCH. JAMALIS IN MANY WAYS AN ATYPICAL BALUCHI TRIBE, WITH VAST MAJORITY ITS MEMBERS IN NEIGHBORING SIND AND WITH SETTLED AGRICULTURAL WAY OF LIFE IN PLAINS AREAS (ESPECIALLY SINCE OPENING PAT FEEDER CANAL IN LATE 1960'S) AS OPPOSED TO MORE TYPICAL BALUCHI NOMADIC HILL TRIBES. JAMALIS' COMMITMENT TO PPP IN MNA BY-ELECTION WAS STRICTLY PRACTICAL ARRANGEMENT; SAME CANDIDATE HAD RUN AS INDEPENDENT IN 1970 BUT LOST TO NAP LEADER MARRI AND FELT HE NEEDED PPP ENDORSEMENT THIS TIME TO WIN AGAINST OTHER INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE WHO ENJOYED AT LEAST SOME NAP SUPPORT (EX-GOVERNOR BUGTI'S SON). IN MANY PRACTICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL RESPECTS, JAMALI'S VIEWS REMAIN CLOSE TO THOSE OF NAP LEADERS (THEY ARE, AFTER ALL, ALL SARDARS TOGETHER, ONLY JAMALIS NOW SAY THEY ARE "GOOD SARDARS" WHILE NAP LEADERS
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ARE "BAD SARDARS"). BOTH NAP AND BUGTI WILL, OF COURSE, FOMENT AGAINST PPP ELECTORAL STRATEGY FOR ESTABLISHING AT LEAST A FACADE OF PRESENCE IN THE PARLIAMENTARY SENSE (BUGTI CURRENTLY MAKING SPECIFIC ACCUSATIONS OF ELECTORAL FRAUD IN JAMALI VICTORY) BUT IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER THESE ELEMENTS WILL MAKE THEIR POINTS VIOLENTLY AND IN ANY CASE HOW EFFECTIVE THEIR FOMENTATION WILL BE.

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5. CURRENT PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT SETUP APPEARS SOME IMPROVEMENT OVER 1973 SITUATION BUT MINISTRY STILL FAR FROM EFFECTIVE BODY. CHOICE OF AHMED YAR KHAN AS GOVERNOR APPEARS TO BE WORKING OUT FAIRLY WELL, WITH VIRTUALLY UNIVERSAL COMMENT THAT HE ENJOYS WIDESPREAD RESPECT AMONG BALUCH LEADERS AS DESCENDANT HISTORICALLY CHIEF SARDARI FAMILY OF BALUCH AREAS, THAT HE IS LARGELY FREE FROM TAINT IN CURRENT NAP/PPP POLITICAL CONTROVERSY, AND THAT HE IS MUCH MORE KIND OF GOVERNOR EN- VISAGED BY NEW CONSTITUTION THAN AKBAR BUGTI WAS (I.E., A CONTENTED FIGUREHEAD, RATHER THAN A PRIME MOVER). TROUBLE IS CHIEF MINISTER (JAM QADIR) NOT REPEAT NOT STRONG EXECUTIVE ENVISAGED BY CONSTITUTION, AND OBSERVERS ALSO DO NOT FIND ANY SUCH AMONG PRESENT OR PROSPECTIVE CABINET MINISTERS. PROBABLY MOST SUITABLE WOULD BE NEWLY APPOINTED SARDAR GHAUS BUX RAISANI, WHO AT LEAST MORE ARTICULATE AND CONVINCING FIGURE THAN JAM QADIR BUT WHOSE PERFORMANCE AS BALUCHISTAN GOVERNOR IN EARLY 1972 GAVE LITTLE EVIDENCE EXECUTIVE TALENTS. RUMOR
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HAS IT THAT NEW MPA MAHMOUD KHAN ACHAKZAI (SON OF PAKHTOONKHWA NAP LEADER ASSASSINATED LAST DECEMBER) WILL BE TAKEN INTO CABINET TO FULFILL UNWRITTEN REQUIREMENT FOR REPRESENTATION OF LARGE PATHAN ELEMENT IN PROVINCE, BUT IT DOUBTFUL THIS WILL ADD MUCH IF ANYTHING TO STRENGTH OF MINISTRY.

6. ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES UNDERTAKEN SINCE CHANGEOVER OF GOVERNORS ADDRESSED BOTH TO SECURITY SITUATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. FORMER INCLUDE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A MARRI-BUGTI POLITICAL AGENCY OUT OF THE DISTURBED AREAS OF SIBI DISTRICT (KARACHI 0311 NOTAL) AND, MORE RECENTLY, THE DIVISION OF KALAT DISTRICT TO SEPARATE OFF KHUZDAR, WHICH INCLUDES THE DISTURBED MENGAL TRIBAL AREA OF JHALAWAN (KARACHI A-16, FEB 27, 1974). MEANWHILE, REPORTS OF INCIDENTS (GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES, AMBUSHES OF MILITARY AND SCOUTS, ETC.) CONTINUE, WITH NEWS THIS PROBLEM HAS SPREAD MORE INTO BUGTI AREAS SINCE CHANGEOVER IN GOVERNORS. (MANY SAY THAT FORMER GOVERNOR, TOWARD END OF HIS REGIME, GAVE LARGE AMOUNTS OF ARMS TO HIS FOLLOWERS, NECESSITATING EXTENSION OF MILITARY PRESENCE TO BUGTI AREAS ADJOINING MARRI REGIONS.) IT WAS MY OVERALL IMPRESSION THAT LEVEL HOSTILE ACTIVITIES HAD DIMINISHED SOMEWHAT BY COMPARISON WITH TIME OF MY LAST VISIT TO BALUCHISTAN LAST JULY (KARACHI 1303 NOTAL).

7. NEW LOOK IN SECRETARIAT REFLECTS PARTLY DEPARTURES SOME OF BUGTI'S HENCHMEN, BUT MORE ATTEMPT TO BEEF UP APPROACH TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, WHICH ALL SIDES ADMIT HIGHLY UNSATISFACTORY (ONLY SMALL PROPORTION OF 73/74 DEVELOPMENT BUDGET OF RS. 18 CRORE, HAVING BEEN SPENT TO DATE). NEW POST OF ADDITIONAL CHIEF SECRETARY, CREATED TO OVERSEE DEVELOPMENTAL ACTIVITIES IN FIELDS OF COMMUNICATIONS, POWER-IRRIGATION, AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT, STAFFED BY SENIOR PCS OFFICER, RAJAH AHMED KHAN, WHO HAS SPENT MOST OF HIS 30-YEAR CAREER IN BALUCHISTAN IN POSITIONS OF PROGRESSIVELY HIGHER RESPONSIBILITY, INCLUDING PRIOR STINT AS DEVELOPMENT COMMISSIONER. RECENTLY ESTABLISHED BALUCHISTAN DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY (AN IMPLEMENTATION RATHER THAN PLANNING BODY) HAS BEEN ENTRUSTED TO FORMER GOP FINANCE JOINT SECRETARY IQBAL SAID, A RATHER IMPRESSIVE PROJECT TECHNICIAN WHO HAS ALSO HAD PRIOR EXPERIENCE IN BALUCHISTAN PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION (SAID HAD BEEN SELECTED FOR LATERAL ENTRY AT MINISTER LEVEL IN FOREIGN SERVICE, BUT WAS CONFIDENTIAL

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PULLED OUT SUDDENLY BY FINANCE MINISTER MUBASHIR HASAN TO TAKE THIS "URGENT" ASSIGNMENT IN BALUCHISTAN).

8. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS OF BALUCHISTAN, OF COURSE, ARE ENORMOUS, AND DRAMATIC DEPARTURES CANNOT BE EXPECTED EXCEPT IN UNLIKELY EVENT RESOURCE-SHORT GOP COULD ALLOCATE REALLY SIGNIFICANT RESOURCES TO THAT BACKWARD AND UNDEVELOPED PROVINCE, AS WELL-HEELED IRAN IS NOW APPARENTLY DOING IN IRANIAN BALUCHISTAN. BUT RECENT ADMINISTRATIVE DEPARTURES AND APPOINTMENTS INDICATE DESIRE AT LEAST TO EXPEDITE EXPENDITURE SUCH FUNDS AS HAVE BEEN ALLOCATED AND DO SOMEWHAT MORE CREDITABLE JOB THAN IN PAST.

9. BALUCHISTAN FIGURES WERE, AS ALWAYS, GLAD TO SEE USG REPRESENTATIVE IN THEIR MIDST. BUT THIS TIME PRESSURE FOR US INTERVENTION OF VARIOUS KINDS REACHED DEGREE I HAD NOT HITHERTO EXPERIENCED. IT CAME FROM VARIOUS QUARTERS: POLITICAL LEADERS WANTING SUPPORT AGAINST GOP OR AGAINST ALLEGED SOVIET/AFGHAN MENACE, DEPENDING ON THEIR POLITICAL COLORATION; SPECIAL PLEAS BY A PRIVATE TECHNICAL CONSULTANT PRESSING FOR USAID FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR WATER BASIN DEVELOPMENT PROJECT PLANS HE HAS SUPPLIED ON CONTRACT TO GOB; AND OFFICIALS OF BOTH SECRETARIAT AND MINISTRY (ESPECIALLY MINISTER FOR EDUCATION AND INFORMATION MAGSI) FOR SOME SHOW OF US FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR PROVINCIAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS. POLITICAL APPROACHES AND THE TECHNICAL CONSULTANT APPROACH CUT NO PARTICULAR ICE. BUT I FELT IT PRUDENT TO DEAL MORE SERIOUSLY WITH SECRETARIAT AND MINISTERIAL ARGUMENTS FOR SUPPORT, BOTH ON PRACTICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL GROUNDS, AND TOOK PAINS TO REITERATE PROCEDURES AND EAD CHANNEL FOR GOP ENDORSEMENT AND PRESENTATION TO FOREIGN DONORS OF PROVINCIAL PROJECTS.

10. OUTLOOK: BALUCHISTAN IS NOT REPEAT NOT A PLACE WHERE ONE CAN LOOK FORWARD TO SPECTACULAR OR DECISIVE CHANGES WITHIN A SHORT TIME-FRAME. ON THIS VISIT I SAW OR HEARD NOTHING THAT WOULD PORTEND A FUNDAMENTAL TURN-AROUND IN BASIC SITUATION, WHICH CAN STILL BE DESCRIBED AS ONE INCORPORATING A TRIBAL SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANIZATION WITH AN OVERLAY OF WEAK AND TO SOME EXTENT, IRRELEVANT, DEMOCRATIC PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS. THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT PRESENT FORMULA--NAMELY CREATING AT LEAST APPEARANCE OF PPP STRUCTURE THROUGH ELECTORAL

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PROCESS--MAY NOT REPEAT NOT BEAR SOME FRUIT OVER TIME AND FINESSE SOME OF MORE TROUBLESOME MANIPULATIONS BY OPPOSITION LEADERS IN THEIR TRIBAL BAILIWICKS. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVE, IN SPITE OF CURRENT ADMINISTRATIVE EFFORTS, APPEARS LESS PROMISING, MAINLY BECAUSE OF UNLIKELIHOOD ALLOCATION ENOUGH RESOURCES, BUT ALSO BECAUSE PROGRAMS APPEAR DIRECTED MORE TOWARD LARGE ISOLATED SHOW PROJECTS THAN THOSE WHICH WOULD MAKE BASIC IMPACT ON CIRCUMSTANCES OF ORDINARY PEOPLE AND HENCE LEAD TO MODERNIZATION OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND ITS BETTER ADAPTATION TO PARLIAMENTARY FORMS. AT SAME TIME THERE IS NO EVIDENCE OF DETERIORATION IN UNSTABLE CONDITIONS THAT HAVE PREVAILED--AND HAVE BEEN RELATIVELY EASILY CONTAINABLE--SINCE DISMISSAL OF NAP GOVERNMENT IN FEBRUARY 1973, AND THERE IS SOME PROSPECT OF GRADUAL ABATEMENT OF THESE CONDITIONS BY MEANS OF CURRENT BHUTTO FORMULA.

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